

Conservative Spotlight

BY JOSEPH A. D'AGOSTINO

Brian Crozier

Author Brian Crozier is yet another ex-leftist who has dedicated his life to fighting communism. Born in Australia, he grew up in England and France, and met devout Communists who had a profound influence on him.

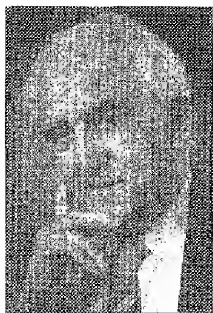
"Before World War II, I had a left-wing phase, unfortunately," Crozier said in an interview with HUMAN EVENTS last week. "So did Bob Conquest," another detailer of Soviet crimes. "But I never joined any Communist Party," he added.

The Great Depression and the rise of Adolf Hitler helped make Crozier into a left-wing radical, as they did a number of people at the time who believed that only radical solutions could save the world. "I met a good number of Communists who were a bit older than I was," he said. "And I admired them because they seemed so earnest and dedicated to their principles."

But events began to change Crozier's views after the war, and James Burnham's 1947 book *The Machiavellians, Defenders of Freedom* played a large role. "So it's partly by coincidence that I succeeded him in his column, 'The Protracted Conflict' in *National Review*," Crozier said. "He fell seriously ill in 1978 and they asked me to take it over." Crozier would write the column for the next 18 years.

Crozier has served at various times as a foreign correspondent for the *Economist* and Reuters and as a commentator for the BBC. He published his first book, *The Rebels*, in 1960, dealing with rebellions going on around the world, and has written a series of biographies, *Franco* (1967), *De Gaulle* (1973) and *Chiang Kai-Shek* (1976). In 1970 he founded the *Institute for the Study of Conflict*, a London-based group that studies insurgencies and terrorism, and Crozier has advised the British Secret Intelligence Service, the Information Research Department (IRD) of the British Foreign Office, and the CIA. His memoirs appeared in 1993 as *Free Agent: The Unseen War 1941-1991*.

His latest book is *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire* (Prima Publishing). He saw an opportunity for the book, Crozier said, because of the huge number of new documents released from old Soviet archives. "A lot has been written about the Soviet Union," he explained, "but no one has covered the entire period with the new documents." Stanford University's Hoover Institution, of which Crozier is a Distinguished Visiting Fellow on War, Revolution, and Peace, has eight million sheets of paper alone, he said, and he has added to their col-



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lection by selling his own archives to Hoover.

In his latest book, Crozier documents Stalin's massacre of unarmed Polish officers not only at the well-known Katyn Forest, where 4,000 died, but also at other sites as well. In all, Crozier said, 22,000 lost their lives. He believes that 100 million people have died because of communism, including 65 million in China and 20 million in the Soviet Union.

He said that an extraordinary number of Western leaders did not oppose communism with the vigor his civil demanded.

"The Western governments didn't seem to understand the problem," he said. He told how, in the 1970s, the British Foreign Office forced the Freedom Association to move the site of a monument to the victims of the Katyn massacre to the outskirts of London from its original location in Kensington. "And the Defense Ministry issued an order that no one could come to the dedication wearing a military uniform," he said. "Some showed up in uniform anyway. Nothing happened [to them]."

Even "Winston Churchill, who had been anti-Communist since the beginning in 1917, was taken in. Churchill came back [from Yalta] and said Stalin was the most truthful man. He wouldn't have said it if he didn't believe it. He expressed complete trust in Stalin."

Unsurprisingly, Crozier ascribes an enormous amount of the credit for the fall of the Soviet empire to Ronald Reagan. "One of the turning points was the invasion of Grenada. It was the first strategic and tactical retreat of the Soviet Union," Crozier said. "The effect of it was very startling." He told a surprising story about British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "I had an appointment with Margaret on the day of the invasion," he recalled. "She was furious with Ronald Reagan. . . . He didn't even have the decency to ring me and tell me what he was doing."

Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative gambit played a large role as well. "The Soviets couldn't afford it and hadn't the means to compete," he said.

And the Soviet Union's own Vietnam had its effect. To this day, Crozier said, no one knows why—or is saying why—the Soviets decided to invade Afghanistan despite having puppets in power there.

Crozier has another distinction: In 1988, he appeared in the *Guinness Book of World Records* for having interviewed the most heads of state or government, 58 in all.

Crozier may be reached through Prima Publishing, 3875 Atwater Rd., Rocklin, Calif. 95765 (916-632-4400; fax: 916-632-4405; www.primapublishing.com).

Nuclear Nightmare *Continued from page 8*

The 1994 Agreed Framework called for the United States and North Korea to "work together to strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation regime." That regime, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), rests on signatory nations' good faith, and their willingness to submit to inspections. But since 1994, North Korea has repeatedly violated the NPT's inspection requirements. Moreover, North Korea resists inspections of its nuclear program in violation of other international agreements to which it is bound.

Kim Jong-il's callous disregard for American—and world—opinion, and his regime's apparent disdain for the Clinton-Gore Administration's policy of nurturing ties with the failing Communist state, do not stop there. North Korea notoriously engages in counterfeiting U.S. currency, and sells illegal drugs as a matter of national policy. Kim Jong-il is apparently not shamed by the capture of his diplomats and agents who have been caught red-handed in these criminal activities.

Clinton's initiation of U.S. taxpayer subsidies for North Korea, and his plan to completely normalize relations with this bizarre and dangerous Communist country, is a radical break with long-standing American policy.

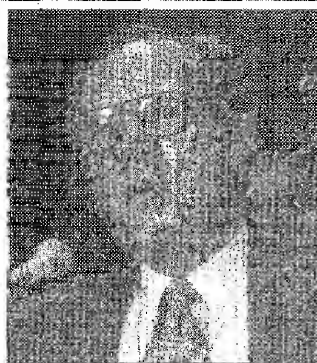
The Clinton-Gore Administration, in its sad adherence to this dangerously failed policy, at least deserves credit for consistency. It has met every one of North Korea's violations of its international agreements with an apology and a rationalization.

U.S. aid to North Korea has thus grown from zero (before the Clinton-Gore Administration) to more than \$270 million annually, totaling \$645 million over the past five years. Based on current trends, that total will likely exceed \$1 billion next year. The United States has replaced the former Soviet Union as the primary benefactor of North Korea.

U.S. aid in the form of heavy fuel oil—500,000 metric tons per year—provides North Korea with fuel for its state-managed military-industrial base. The U.S.-provided fuel is now almost double what North Korea's civilian economy can use, so diversion to military uses is practically guaranteed.

American food aid, intended to benefit North Korea's starving population, has also been abused by the Communist regime, which distributes it on a priority basis to the military and uses it to reward Communist Party members. Despite totalitarian secrecy and a dearth of effective international monitoring, there is now incontrovertible evidence that Pyongyang has diverted food aid from U.S. humanitarian organizations and the European Union to the military, security forces, and party elite.

Even the food aid that has reached needy civilians has been re-channeled through the state, thereby converting it into a source of control and prestige for the regime. As the defecting General Secretary of North Korea's



Former Secretary of Defense William Perry

Communist Party explained, "North Korea controls people with food. . . . The food distribution is a means of control."

On Sept. 29, 1998, Doctors Without Borders, the largest international charity operating in North Korea, announced that it was withdrawing from the North. According to the *Washington Post*, the Nobel Peace Prize-winning organization stated that it was "concerned that the North Korean government was applying a double standard—feeding children from families loyal to the regime while neglecting others."

Regarding U.S. food aid, the *Post* quoted a U.S. official as stating, "In truth, we don't know what we're doing. We're just sending in lots of food and hoping against hope."

Despite this seemingly endless litany of abuse of U.S. aid, the Clinton-Gore Administration continues to bend to North Korea's ever-escalating extortionate demands. Most recently, on Sept. 17, 1999, the administration acceded to the most brazen demand yet from North Korea—the lifting of U.S. economic sanctions that have been applied to the Communist dictatorship without interruption for 50 years, since it launched its war against the Republic of Korea.

Kim Jong-il's million-man army, which considers itself formally at war with the United States, is building long-range missiles that will enable it to subject American territory to nuclear, biological and chemical blackmail.

Even after these huge subsidies and benefits, the personal representative of the President of the United States who traveled to North Korea this year to offer this lifting of sanctions and the complete normalization of relations—former Secretary of Defense William Perry—was refused an audience with Kim Jong-il. Thus no U.S. official has even talked with the all-powerful dictator whose shifting moods will govern North Korea's compliance with this loose, if expensive, "agreement."

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